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'HAVE OUR LEADERS GONE DAFT'?

Foreign policy debate rages as Hoover kills bi-partisanship

AMERICANS tasting bitter defeat in Korea might take comfort that some politicians who sent them there were last week in retreat at home. Heading the procession was Herbert Hoover, one of the architects of current U.S. policy in Asia. The aged ex-President asked the nation to admit failure in Korea, to realize that land war against Russia and China "is sheer folly" and that "the atomic weapon is a far less dominant weapon than it was once thought to be."

Tailored to popular anxiety to get GI's out of Korea and avoid world war, Hoover's formula offered a Republican-style war program: all-out armament at home, arming of Japan, Germany, Chiang Kai-shek, UN branding of China as an aggressor, conversion of the UN into a complete U.S. instrument. Yet his words were of momentous significance, marking as they did the end of bipartisan foreign policy.

Quick approval came from GOP senators Taft (O.), Wherry (Neb.), Brewster (Me.), Martin (Pa.), Saltonstall (Mass.), Aiken (Vt.). Republican strategists who attribute their recent success at the polls partly to widespread peace sentiment leaped on the bandwagon.

THE FLOOR IS OPEN: What Hoover said was less important than the fact that the Republicans — who, as the **Wall St. Journal** pointed out, have "assumed their job was to help

suppress discussion" of foreign policy — now had thrown it into the arena of public debate. The **Journal** warned that the nation is "aroused" and will no longer put up with a situation in which

> . . . no matter what might be proposed, no matter how many commitments were added to those which were already inflated beyond the country's will and capacity, one must not mention the circumstance. If he did, then he must at least be an "isolationist" and very probably he was an unwitting agent of Stalin's.

The **Journal**, which consistently opposed the Korean adventure, earlier launched a foreign-policy debate of its own with publication of Joseph P. Kennedy's speech urging the U.S. to get out of Korea, leave Europe to the Europeans, and arm the western hemisphere.

KENNEDY ASKS WHY: Unlike Hoover, Kennedy did not urge arming Japan, Germany and Chiang, and saw some use in the UN as a forum for all nations. He said:

> "Half of this world will never submit to dictation by the other half. The two can only agree to live next to each other because for one to absorb the other becomes too costly. We have never wanted a part of other people's scrapes. Today we have them and just why, nobody seems to know. What business is it of ours to support French colonial policy in Indo-China or to achieve Mr. Syngman Rhee's concepts of democracy in Korea? Shall we now send Marines into the mountains of Tibet to keep the Dalai Lama on his throne? We can do well to mind our business and interfere only when somebody threatens our business and our homes."

STOP BEING DAFT: **Wall St. Journal** readers approved Kennedy's proposals as emphatically as GUARDIAN readers approved this paper's similar proposals six months ago. The **Journal** said it received no critical letters. Here are excerpts:

Thomas Marshall, Corpus Christi, Texas:

> Have our so-called leaders all become daft together? . . . The Kennedy platform would carry the country ten to one.

B. B. Conable, Warsaw, N. Y.:

> I would vote for Mr. Kennedy for President on this kind of platform.

W. C. Mullendore, Los Angeles (director of Union Pacific RR, North Am. Aviation Co., trustee of Mutual Life Insurance Co., former pres., L. A. Chamber of Commerce):

> I am convinced that a clear and substantial majority of the American people likewise endorse Mr. Kennedy's views. . . . Many of the most responsible leaders in business and other walks of life . . . express a different attitude in public than they do in private for fear that they may be accused of something.

Don Westover, Hastings, Pa.:

> The sentiment is sweeping the country to get "out of Korea, out of Europe and out of everywhere" except this hemisphere.

EARNEST CONFUSION: The search for a sensible foreign policy, in the backwash of the Korean defeat, was confused but earnest. The crisis cut across standard group views.

J. F. Lincoln, industrialist and former C. of C. president in Cleveland, wrote the Cleveland **Press:**

> Has anyone thought of approaching the matter in a perfectly honest and straightforward way? First, admit that we are the aggressors and that we have no business invading Korea or any other country. Second, bring back our army to America. Third, pay for the damage that we have done in Korea. In order to do this, the following program will be necessary:
>
> First, impeach Truman as a warmonger who ordered the invasion of Korea by illegal action, without reference to Congress who, under our Constitution, only can declare war. Second, if the dangers of invasion from Communistic Russia are in any sense true, which is doubtful, build up our home defenses and don't weaken ourselves by a war on the other side of the world. Third, go to Russia and China, after showing our honesty by the above action, and tell them we are not warlike; that the one thing we want to do is to live at peace and in cooperation with all nations. State the fact that the invasion which took place was contrary to the desires of the majority of the American people who, under our representative form of government should have and will in the future have control of our acts.

OUT OF QUOTES: Copper tycoon Harry F. Guggenheim, former U.S. ambassador to Cuba, in a speech at the University of Florida lamented that

> . . . the U.S. will have no relations with any states unwilling to reform themselves in our own image of white, male, Anglo-Saxon democratic Protestant perfection.

Washington efforts to frighten critics into silence had failed.

"Peace" was coming out of quotation marks.

Monarch Airlines photo

Two children—what will the New Year bring them?

The little girl (above left) is Korean. She was found crying on a war-devastated street—alone, hungry, terrified. Perhaps her parents were blown to bits by a bomb made in the country of the little boy (above right) who is American. He is blissfully eating a fine apple, unaware that there are things more important than Hopalong Cassidy. Life could be beautiful for both children—for all children—if their elders could regain the sanity that must go into the making of a beautiful world.

Mr. Truman: will you accept the gift of American lives?

ON THE EVE of Christmas, the President called them "inheritors of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, who were the greatest murderers in history."

But inwardly, many an American family with father or son in Korea was grateful that the so-called inheritors of Genghis Khan held their fire, stayed their jet fighters and charitably permitted the Christmas retreat of 100,000 U.S. soldiers from the huddled Hungnam beachhead in North Korea without loss of a single American life.

The whole power of the Truman-MacArthur propaganda machinery tried desperately all weekend to silence and distort the news of this significant act of mercy on the part of peoples whom we are ordered to regard as "enemy".

But this and other portents for peace would not be silenced.

Whether these portents got through to the 100,000 men who retreated from Hungnam—only to find themselves detoured to the Pusan beachhead miles 350 south—is doubtful.

YET THE FACTS are that a far less orderly retreat is in process right here at home, among the selfsame elements which originated the cold war and its now-backfiring hot war.

The details of this home-front retreat can be found elsewhere on this page. For people like the readers of this paper, who have never quit the fight for peace, these new-found voices should bring a certain understandable satisfaction. We may not share all their objectives, but we dare not miss the significance of their speaking out, now. Insofar as even Herbert Hoover is in effect a fellow-traveler with the GUARDIAN against the mad Korean adventure, we welcome him.

The safe evacuation of 100,000 American fathers and sons from the trap of Hungnam was indeed an unlooked-for gift. To permit these men to be thrown back into new conquest of Korea would be a senseless refusal of this gift.

NOW IS THE TIME to get back into the fight for peace.

Now is the time to help the people around you join the growing demand in America for an end to militarism and disastrous foreign wars.

Now is the time to convince people that the best defense of America is peace, and not new military adventures to take away the bad taste yet continue the profits of the old ones.

Three housewives in Denver had the right idea. They picketed the home where General Eisenhower spent Christmas. They carried placards reading:

"Two hundred thousand rearmed Germans means a Nazi army.

"Will you lead Nazis, Mr. Eisenhower?"

Similarly, one might ask President Truman:

"The kings of Orient have offered a gift—a gift of peace and American lives: will you accept it—now?"

—THE EDITORS

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Manifesto of a confident humanity

Following is the Manifesto adopted by the representatives of the people of 80 nations at the recent Peace Congress in Warsaw:

THE most terrible of all wars is threatening every man, woman and child. The United Nations has failed to justify the hopes of the peoples who long for peace. Civilization is in peril.

Nevertheless, the peoples still cherish the principles that inspired the Charter of the organisation founded after World War II to ensure, in freedom, respect for international law.

Nevertheless, every thinking person knows that to say "war is inevitable" is to slander mankind.

You who read this message proclaimed by the Second World Peace Congress, speaking from Warsaw in the name of the people of 80 nations in all parts of the world, never forget that the fight of the Defenders of Peace is your fight. Know that hundreds of millions of peoples have come together. Their hands are stretched out to you. They call on you to share in the finest battle ever engaged by a humanity confident of its future.

Peace does not wait on us, it must be won.

Raise your voice with ours to demand that the war in Korea—a war that may yet set the world ablaze—cease now, forthwith.

Stand with us against the attempts being made to light once more the hearths of war in Germany and Japan.

Together with the 500 million thinking human beings who signed the Stockholm Appeal, call for the abolition of atomic weapons and for general disarmament. The rigorous control of general disarmament and the destruction of atomic weapons are technically possible. All that is needed is the will.

Demand the outlawing of all propaganda in favor of war.

See that the representatives in our Parliaments and our Governments are made aware of the peace proposals put forward by this Second World Peace Congress.

The power of the peace-loving peoples throughout the world is great enough, the voices of free men are strong enough, for us together speedily to secure a meeting of the Five Great Powers.

The Second World Peace Congress provides the proof that men and women of all opinions, gathered from the five Continents of the globe, can agree in order to dispel the scourge of war.

Let the governments follow their example and the peace of the world will be saved.

THE MAIL BAG

It sings

OMAHA, NEB.

As the song goes, "If I'd lose you, life would never be the same. . . ." I could wax lyrical and tell you at length how much brighter, more heartening and hope-giving the world and mankind seem to me and my kind every time the NATIONAL GUARDIAN arrives . . . amidst the confusion, the hysteria, the pessimism, cynicism, and the will to destruction rampant all around us. The arrival of our paper is like an ozonified breath of mountain air bursting into an atmosphere of choking and corroding fumes of lies, distortions, decerebration . . . like letting the light of day and of reason into the House of the Dead.

And I assure you that it is a keen pleasure, a joy-giving privilege and a sacred duty to help maintain that beacon of light and of high-thinking journalism.

Name withheld

Unintelligent protest

COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO

"The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse" (rat). The above quotation can very aptly be ascribed to the results of the recent election. Prostituted editors, radio commentators, columnists and others looking for a reason for the swing towards the ultra-reactionary Republican Party give us all kinds of reasons, all of them wrong. They tell us it was a popular protest all right, a blind, unreasoning, unintelligent protest to be sure, but a protest nevertheless. The recent election was a protest against the Korean adventure, a protest against war by executive fiat, a protest against mounting taxes against the American people inseparable from the determination of Wall Street to plunge our people into World War III, a protest against rising costs for the masses coupled with unprecedented profits for big business, a protest against Truman's plan to settle the burden of war preparations on the wage earner and farmer, and finally a protest against the American Hitler program of "guns not butter" as exemplified by the fact that 80% of the national appropriations for 1950 and 1951 are military.

I repeat, the pity of it is that the protest was unintelligent, a mere jumping out of the Democratic frying pan into the Republican fire. The American people, the most politically illiterate people in the world, do not understand the common program of both old parties, the preservation of world capitalism under the hegemony of Wall Street at all costs, even the cost of its own destruction following world wide atomic war. Thank God for a few voices who refuse to be hushed, a few men who will not bow the knee, a few publications that are not for sale, a few patriots who place a higher value on truth, honor, decency and justice than on the lust for gold and the specious but false plaudits of their parasitic masters. The NATIONAL GUARDIAN is in that company. Keep up your good work.

Thomas B. Wood
Ex-Representative, Kootenai Co.
Idaho House of Representatives

Leave it in the bus

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I find at least a little satisfaction in passing along my copy of the GUARDIAN by leaving it in places where it would seem to do the most good: buses and trains, libraries, restaurants and working men's hotels. Subscriber

●

E. OAKLAND, CALIF.

Please send me your valuable paper. Recently found a copy on a motor coach. Simon J. Donnelly

Daily Express, London

"That's right, you old masochist, turn on the news and let's have a real good laugh!!!"

Building with bricks

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Enclosed my monthly pledge of support, a token of appreciation for your devotion to us—the common people. Use this to buy a big brick to whack Free Enterprise in the shins.

I am old and delicate, but old folks should protect the younger generation and should not object to being expended; anyway, I don't. Ill health of life-long duration, poverty and overwork have not caused me to worship the thieves who comprise free enterprise. I soap-boxed for 25 years and still have my wits about me. C. P. W.

Correspondent wanted

PARIS, FRANCE

I want to know more about your difficult struggle against war. Is there a progressive young woman somewhere in the U.S., learning French (I am studying English at the People's University here), who would like to correspond with me and exchange progressive publications? I am 21 and work in a railway office.

Robert Lamarque
c/o M. Marie
1 Rue Pissaro

Pre-Marxian

FARMERSVILLE, TEX.

Have read several issues of your paper. Why don't you get away from the New York outlook and fight the system on a broader basis? We folks of the Southwest have a culture that antedates Karl Marx and Adam Smith. We Spanish-speaking folks have a culture that has stubbornly resisted the erosion of contemporary American "gadget mongering." Why don't you folks publish a review of some books on Catholic radicalism, such as Eric Gill's works, Juenger's Failure of Technology, or Peter Maurin's works. This will boost your circulation among the Hispano-Americans.

Pablo Juan Sanchez

Congratulations, Marge & Ed

NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

We've been waiting for certain small business or property deals to be settled in order to get a bundle or give you some names for subs. But delays are demoralizing, and, though we're strapped most of the time in trying to make up our quotas for the Committee Against Loyalty Checks, we hasten to renew our subscription now. We couldn't get along without the inspiration of the GUARDIAN.

Incidentally, we're both victims of the L. A. City loyalty witch-hunt, so we're really interested. In fact, we met and married as a result of this. Margaret & Ed Havens

Rubble again?

SEATTLE, WASH.

Now that elections and the hunting season are over you'll get more production from me re building the GUARDIAN in line with your stimulating editorial, "The progressive movement, the press and the future." The imminent threat of a war with China just five short years since I left rubbled Berlin numbs me until I look at my three beautiful children who are a constant renewer of the will to fight.

Lyle Mercer

Disgracing democracy

ALGONAC, MICH.

Your paper is a continual inspiration and helps to save our nation from complete disrepute among the peoples of the world.

What a fine, courageous people we are becoming, killing women and little children, burning and destroying, just like the Nazis did. God help us, we are a disgrace—and all in the name of democracy.

Florence Flagg

Sordid marriage

KENILWORTH, N. J.

Most eloquent evidence that there is no divorce between domestic and foreign policy is your picture of the father of the infamous McCarran Bill in affectionate and respectful admiration of the Butcher Franco.

The shady maneuvers of McCarran and his clique to have Franco represented in the UN are an insult to the Spanish people. Public opinion should be aroused to protest any dealings with the Franco adventurer. A. Keen

Here's your paper!

BUFFALO, N. Y.

Years ago, before the Socialists carried the city of Milwaukee, Wis., they distributed great quantities of leaflets on Sunday mornings before the Sunday papers got around.

In Jamestown, N. Y., we did quite a lot of that kind of work and as far as I know no labor party has had as large a percentage of the total vote as we had for Debs. We were the second party in Chautauqua County at that time.

Readers of the GUARDIAN, I think, would be surprised at the results, if, when finished reading the paper, they would fold it up and throw it on working peoples' porches — at night if they don't think it wise to do it by day. Paul Revere rode at night, didn't he?

W. S. Bennett

How to do it

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Here's how the enclosed $25 came about: We had some people over to hear a talk on "Inside Puerto Rico." The speaker had just returned from a teaching job at the University of Puerto Rico. After his talk, I said the only other source I'd found for current facts on Puerto Rico was the GUARDIAN. I quoted your excellent article in which it was shown that almost no one dies of cancer in Puerto Rico; cancer is a disease of old age, and no one lives long enough down there. . . . Without further ado, a hat was passed and $25 collected.

Forums and lectures on almost any subject could be followed by the remark: "For more information on this, see the GUARDIAN; for continued information, support the GUARDIAN!" Hope some more people try it.

Merry Christmas, fellow GUARDIAN readers! Jane Hodes

Apartment to share

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I have a three room, largish apartment which has proved a little too much for me to clean after working hours. Is there a GUARDIAN reader (female) who would like to share it with me in exchange for keeping it in order? Since there is no rent involved, I hope you can see your way to printing my offer in your Mailbag.

Cecily Arnaz
11-15 F. D. R. Drive
New York 9, N. Y.

Greeting from Hungary

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

Though belated a bit, I warmly congratulate you on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the GUARDIAN. I, citizen of the free Hungarian People's Republic, admire your undaunted fight against the "commercial press," against the insane war mongers who are now running your government. It is a good feeling to me to read that 75,000 people read your paper.

Robert Balois

START THE NEW YEAR RIGHT!

Why not send us the following resolution today —

HERE'S my $2 now — extend my present subscription for a full year. No need to send me a renewal notice any time in 1951.

HERE'S my New Year's contribution:

$.....

Total Enclosed $.....

(Please PRINT—Include Zone)

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.....

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y

Sonnet For The New Year

By Eve Merriam

YOUR democratic spirit bent self-lame,
My proud sweet country, what have you become?
Lying, crouched in a corner, rancid in slobbering shame,
Mumbling stale leavings with a dirty thumb.
A greasy muffler bound around your neck,
Once you strode outdoors, wore no man's tie,
Frontiers were far, the mind was free to trek
And pitch a tent under any-color sky.
Any angel or jackass would take a soapbox dare
While the saintly mulish crowd chewed or spit out his words.
The shouts and murmurs are dumb. Now the public square
Conquered by mouldering statues and droppings of birds.
Liberty's body, raise up the halt and weak.
Rest is for the grave. Silence is foul-breathed. Speak!

Brussels blesses a German army as war-sick Europe shudders

"BRUSSELS is a long way to go to lay an egg." This was one observer's comment (quoted in N.Y. **Times**) on

Atlantic Pact plans drawn up in Brussels last week for a one-million-man European army. His words expressed a feeling widespread in Europe that the grandiose U.S. program is destined to remain a scrap of paper.

As attacks on Secy. Acheson who wielded the baton got more and more violent at home, over 100 ministers and generals of the 12 Pact nations met in Brussels' dark gray Palais Provincial to approve German rearmament, cornerstone of Pact strategy. French consent to handing tommyguns, tanks and planes back to the mass-murderers of Oradour was won by agreement to integrate German units of 5 to 7,000 men into divisions of other countries. But the High Commissioners will tell West Germany that this "combat team" structure is "transitional." The U.S., said the **Wall St. Journal,** hopes to

> . . . talk France out of this after a few months of psychological preparation for the shock of the German arms build-up.

Approval was hardly given when those who okayed it got the "jitters," the Wall St. **Journal's** Edward Hughes reported from Brussels. A Dutch general said he would have "nightmares." A Belgian defense official said: "Let's see now if it explodes in our face." Hughes wrote:

> The fear that swirled in the undercurrent of thought among them [the delegations] was that hasty action might undermine any last chance of diplomatic understanding with Russia.

CRAZY FOR PEACE: Europeans, including Germans, are sick of war. This political reality, making the Pact a museum item, centered Europe's attention not on Brussels but on the hoped-for conference on Germany proposed by Russia. In Germany, the **N.Y. Times'** Drew Middleton reported from Frankfurt,

> . . . Communist propaganda for "peace" affects hundreds of thousands who never were and never will be Communists. If the East Germans continue to offer the West Germans a choice between "unity and peace or arms and war" in their propaganda, the West's chances of obtaining popular support for rearmament in Germany may be even less than they are today.

In West Germany Social Democratic leader Schumacher violently attacked the Brussels decisions, threatened a national anti-rearmament movement, advised the West to take seriously Russian efforts to negotiate. The N.Y. **Times** said he was

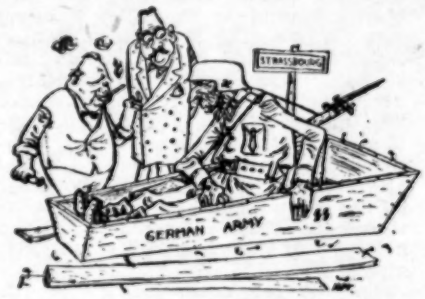
> . . . playing on the Germans' fear of involvement in war. Many who in the past have been adamant against negotiations with the East are advising it today as a way out of the crisis.

Chancellor Adenauer, who liked the Brussels decisions, appointed ex-Hitler generals Speidel and von Heusinger to negotiate West Germany's military contribution. But while his government expressed approval there was "a carefully inspired hint" (N.Y. **Times**) that it might answer sympathetically an East German government note asking talks on Germany's unification.

Ulenspiegel, Berlin
Never again for profits.

UNTIL IT HURTS: Schumacher's price for rearming Germany is full equality and U.S. support of a German crusade to "liberate" lost eastern territories. Adenauer has set the same high price. The U.S. is prepared to grant almost anything, and said so even before negotiations began.

The **Wall St. Journal** believes "the West will give and give." It will lift all major bans on German industry, abandon all authority over German economy



Voorwaarts, Amsterdam
"Get up, comrade, and help us build the New Europe!"

and politics, and probably scrap the Occupation Statute—a real political plum, since about a quarter of the West German budget now goes to pay Allied occupation costs.

But while politicians jockey and bargain, it is still the German people "roused to the fear of war and anxious to keep out of it" (N.Y. **Times**) who would have to do the fighting. The **Times'** Middleton thought it

> . . . unwise to expect too much of any German army that takes the field, even if it enjoys complete equality.

FRENCH HEADACHES: In France the public was told that Secy. Acheson had modified the U.S. program in favor of fuller consideration of French views. Politicians pinned hopes on the time needed for negotiations. Said a French Foreign Office spokesman:

> "The Brussels communique means the door has been left open for talks with Russia. It means that no irrevocable decision on German rearmament has been taken."

But last week the U.S., Britain, and France rejected Moscow's Nov. 3 proposal for a four power conference to prevent German remilitarization. They said Germany could not be discussed in a vacuum and any foreign ministers' conference must be global in scope. (In the Far East, the U.S. is insisting that Korea be discussed in a vacuum, without relation to the Far Eastern problems to which it is tied.)

NOT A NICE SUBJECT: Washington, charging in a memorandum that Russia is responsible for all the world's ills and problems, was bashful to discuss German rearmament (central problem of Europe) and had evidently rushed through the Brussels decisions in order to present not only Russia but the Pact partners with an accomplished fact. But with the peace demand getting hourly louder, Washington proposed "exploratory talks" at UN—in a context indicating it hoped these talks would arrive nowhere.

France, warned by Russia that its consent to German rearmament is a violation of the Potsdam agreement and the 1944 Franco-Soviet alliance, seemed headed for political crisis. (Britain received a similar warning.) France takes seriously the Soviet warning. It is doubtful that any French government could survive if it agreed to the overall U.S. plan for Germany.

An attempt by Gen. de Gaulle to seize power remains in the cards, but such an attempt would probably mean civil war in France. Paul Ghali reported recently from Paris to the Chicago **Daily News:**

> The general is ready for action. The form of this action depends on the result of Gen. Pierre Billotte's conversations in Washington. Sources close to De Gaulle said that Billotte, who is De Gaulle's most trusted man, has been sent to the U. S. on a secret mission. [It is] to obtain the U. S. State Dept.'s approval of the general's intended action here. [According to intimates, he] would not hesitate to use force against the present government. . . .

GOP SPOILSPORTS: Britain and Western Europe were reported delighted at President Truman's selection of Gen. Eisenhower to head the European Army. (British paeans seemed partly a

(Continued on Page 4)

THE CRISIS OF THE LABOR PARTY

Britain's rank-and-file turns left

By Konni Zilliacus
(former Labour Member of Parliament)

LONDON

BRITAIN'S Labour Party is heading rapidly for a crisis as most of its leaders move right and most of its rank and file turn left. The people find intolerable the prospect of sacrificing their standard of living in an insanely costly arms race in order to lose their lives in a war which, whoever wins, this country will lose.

American bossiness and blindness, the bellicosity of the Neanderthalers in Congress and the press and the performance of the megalomaniac politician-general MacArthur have released a swelling flood of alarm and irritation. Matters reached crisis point with Truman's statement suggesting that use of the A-bomb is purely a question of military tactics to be left to MacArthur's discretion, if any.

THE ATOMIC REVOLT: The report of that statement came on the ticker in the House of Commons in the middle of the foreign affairs debate. Ian Mikardo, leftist foreign-policy critic and newly-elected member of the party's National Executive, broke through the crowd of MP's gazing at the dread news, cut the bit out of the tape with his pen-knife and hurried with it into the Chamber. He handed it to the end-man on the Front Bench, War Secretary John Strachey. Strachey turned white as a sheet, passed it to Hugh Dalton, who said, "My God!" and handed it to Foreign Secretary Bevin. Bevin's characteristic comment was: "Now they'll have to come to me!" (As a fellow Cabinet member remarked afterwards, Ernie felt his employer—Truman—had made a mistake and now was the chance to get something out of him). Bevin passed it to Attlee, who kept a poker face but hurriedly walked out and called an emergency Cabinet meeting.

From this he was fetched over in hot haste to face a revolt in the party: 150 MP's (i.e. about half the Parliamentary party), including four National Executive members, had signed a letter urging Attlee to fly to Washington immediately and tell Truman British forces would be withdrawn from Korea if he dropped the A-bomb. They warned Attlee that if the government associated itself with the dropping of the A-bomb they would all quit the party.

"IT'S THOSE REPUBLICANS": Attlee brought back from Washington an agreement under which he would merely be "informed" if and when Truman thought it necessary to use the A-bomb. When tackled by Labourites in the House, Attlee's evasiveness merely confirmed the impression that he was trying to cover up his failure.

Later he told the party's foreign affairs group that he had Truman's assurance to consult him in advance of using the bomb but Truman did not dare say so for fear of trouble with the Republicans. The rebels were in no mood to be impressed by any hole-and-corner deal between two politicians trying to save their skins by not saying what they were up to. Tom Driberg MP, National Executive member who signed the "rebel" letter, used strong language about the agreement, virtually accusing Attlee of having sold out in his anxiety to appease Truman, who was busy appeasing MacArthur and the Congress Neanderthalers.

On one point the agreement was all too clear. Britain and the U.S. had "agreed to differ" on foreign policy

ANEURIN BEVAN
The voice of the future?

(i.e., recognizing China, restoring Formosa, dropping Chiang Kai-shek) but Britain undertook to stick to the U.S. in defense—that is, would obediently go to war if negotiations with China broke down on the very issues the two governments differ about. Yet as Tory MP R. A. Butler said winding up the foreign affairs debate, whereas the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. might survive an atomic war it would mean for us in Britain the road to dusty death.

COSTLY EXPENDABILITY: In fact this Far Eastern crisis is expected to blow over without a major war. But the degeneration process in domestic and foreign affairs will now be hastened owing to the increased fury of the arms race. In three years Britain's annual defense budget has climbed from £643,000,000 to £1,000,000,000 and the new budget will provide for £1,200,000,000 a year. Now Attlee has returned from the U.S. pledged to go still higher.

These crushing burdens have been heaped on us not on any British view of our defense needs, but to conform with the U.S. defense system which regards Britain and Western Europe as expendable but useful as an air base and manpower source. Meanwhile soaring living costs threaten to let loose an avalanche of wage demands in the New Year. The government has no alternative but to back employers in rejecting these demands if they are to go on spending more and more on arms.

EYES ON BEVAN: There are strong divergencies in the Cabinet between Health Minister Aneurin Bevan on the one hand and Attlee, Bevin, Morrison on the other. Two junior members of the government actually joined the Labour rebels and offered to resign their posts, but were told to stand by. Bevan has sympathizers but no open supporters in the Cabinet, but has support in the rest of the government and is regarded by rebel back-benchers—and by the growing numbers in revolt in the constituency Labour parties and trade union branches—as the main hope of change before it is too late.

The situation has reached a stage where a flare-up in the party will be hard to avoid. Something like a "politically effective demand" is arising for a showdown with the U.S. on the issue of peace. Either the U.S. agrees to our minimum demands in foreign policy or we disagree with them on defense—for it is foreign policy that decides what we have to defend.

(Continued from Page 3)

Vie Nuove, Rome
Atlantic Pact

slap at MacArthur, who is hissed in British newsreel theatres.) But growing Republican opposition to sending U.S. troops to Europe—a precondition of the Pact countries' own rearmament—threatened to pull the rug out from under the Truman-Acheson edifice right at the start.

President Truman told a news conference that more U.S. troops had been promised Europe. But Senators George (D-Ga.), Smith (R-N.J.), Crawford (R-Mich.), Martin (R-Pa.), and Saltonstall (R-Mass.) said they would oppose any such move until Congress made a careful study. President Hoover's demand that not another dollar or soldier go to Europe until it had rearmed itself won wide support on Capitol Hill.

Harry cries 'On!'; 'moral forces' retire

IT was Christmas. In holiday mood in Kansas City the President called on "the moral forces of the world" to unite against the "inheritors of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, the greatest murderers in history."

In Rome Pope Pius approved of the Atlantic Pact, denounced Russia without naming it, yet appealed for East-West negotiations to avert war.

In London Sir John Pratt, former head of the British Foreign Office Far Eastern Dept., said the threat of war springs mainly from the U.S., whose failure to recognize China and intervention in Formosa

> ". . . are a violation of the comity of nations and an act of aggression against China. . . . A wide section of ordinary people [in Britain and Europe] do not want to be led along the discreditable road which American policy is following."

From Peking China's Foreign Minister Chou En-lai cabled a rejection of the proposals for a Korean cease-fire by the UN Assembly's 3-man truce committee. Chou said the committee was illegal since it had been set up without Peking's participation, and that a cease-fire was sought only when U.S. forces suffered defeat. The only acceptable basis for negotiation, he said, was withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, withdrawal of U.S. forces from Taiwan (Formosa), and admission of China to the UN. The Truce Committee was not expected to report until after Jan. 1; further truce negotiations, it was indicated, might "await a better turn in UN military fortunes."

HEADING SOUTH: Meanwhile UN C-in-C MacArthur sought in a "my nose hit him in the fist" communique to justify his ill-fated offensive, and revealed that the U.S. 10th Corps had been "re-deployed" from the Hungnam beachhead in north-east Korea to Pusan in the south. The U.S. apparently intended to fight on in Korea, though nearly all informed comment admitted its forces could be driven out whenever opposing forces chose and the only purpose would be to inflict a heavy price in lives. The N.Y. **Times'** Hanson Baldwin reported "some friction" between U.S. and other UN units in Korea. The **Times** Seoul correspondent said "the morale of both the civil population and UN troops was shaken." Observers, he said, were unable to find evidence that a stand would be made at Seoul, and most troops were convinced the Chinese could not long be held back if they launched a full-scale attack.

Gen. Walker, commanding the 8th Army, was killed in a jeep accident.

UNFIT TO PRINT: Full scale censorship was imposed in Korea following U.S. publication of reports of Syngman Rhee forces' atrocities against men, women, children—mass executions finally halted by aroused British soldiers.

Two British soldiers, acting on their own initiative, broke up an attempted execution of 40, managed to save 17. Rhee was finally forced to order a halt.

Britain's **New Statesman & Nation** "believed" that diplomatic protests had been made to Washington without avail. Most significant fact about the atrocities, it said, was

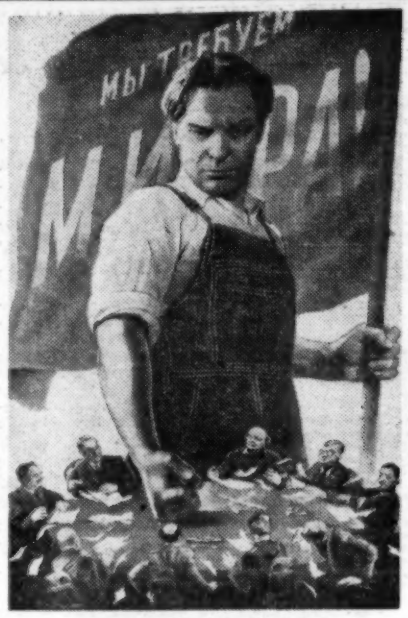
> ". . . that action to stop [them] had to await the decent humanity of the men of the Northumberland Fusiliers and other British units. . . . The inference, which must be inescapable, at least in Asian opinion, is that the West has been satisfied that they should continue. What is now required—and required at once if the reputation of Western troops in Korea is to be saved from universal condemnation—is for the UN to take and enforce any decisions that may be necessary to remove the South Korean leaders from all positions of responsibility."

Peace is keynote as the year turns

THE CONCOURSE PLAZA hotel in the Bronx rented the hall, accepted a $25 dollar deposit from the American Labor Party. Then it heard from the Catholic War Veterans and canceled the rental: "the function was unacceptable."

Somewhere in Korea

"Mother is the name for God in the lips and hearts of children," Thackeray said. This photo, showing two children sitting by the body of their mother, killed by American bombers, gives life—and death—to the quotation.



"WE DEMAND PEACE"
An Eastern European poster

The function: presentation of an award from the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw to Paul Robeson, who was prevented from attending it by the State Dept. Supreme Court Justice Dickstein ruled in favor of the hotel cancellation, took a gratuitous swipe at the World Congress.

But Robeson received his award as scheduled on Wednesday night—from congress delegate Rev. Edward D. McGowan in Hunt's Point Palace before an audience of more than 1,000.

Peace drive goes on

Judges and jingoists notwithstanding, U.S. peacemongers stepped up their efforts to stop the war in Korea:

STUDENTS: Nearly 125 students from nine colleges in the Philadelphia area held a weekend conference at **Swarthmore College,** voted overwhelmingly for a Korean truce, mediation of Far Eastern problems, a UN seat for China. At the **University of Michigan,** 70 faculty members and student leaders conducted an all-day peace conference, made plans for a far larger one soon. The Student Council of the uptown day session of **City College of New York** urged the President to seek an immediate unconditional truce in Korea. The New York regional organization of the **National Student Assn.** adopted a resolution protesting use of the atom bomb.

INTELLECTUALS: The National Council of the **Arts, Sciences and Professions** led a delegation of several hundred to the UN to present a five-point peace program to the assistant General Secretary and the delegations of the French, Indian, Polish and Egyptian governments. The **New York Committee for Peaceful Alternatives** held a public meeting addressed by prominent scientists and religious leaders. They emphasized: "World War III is suicide." The **Emergency Conference on China and World Peace,** headed by Dr. Harry F. Ward, organized sending of thousands of "Peace by Christmas" postcards to Truman.

VETERANS: New York City's newest newest peace organization, **Veterans for Peace,** in one week distributed 10,000 leaflets; sent a peace delegation to the UN; held a two-hour conference with Warren Austin's official representative; won 100 members in a night.

UNIONISTS: The **American Trade Union Delegation** to the UN, headed by Samuel Freedman, an official of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, submitted proposals for withdrawal of troops from Korea and an immediate peace conference to the three members of the UN's cease-fire committee. The **New York Labor Peace Conference** continued a campaign in the city's shops and factories to get signatures to peace petitions. In Detroit, the **Michigan Labor Peace Conference** distributed 20,000 leaflets to Ford workers urging action for peace. Ben Gold, president of the **Fur and Leather Workers Union,** asked CIO president Phillip Murray to invite all AFL, CIO and independent unions to a national conference to unite labor's efforts for peace.

WOMEN: The **American Women for Peace** were conducting a five-borough peace-postcard campaign in New York. In Baltimore Mrs. Gladys Walser, accredited observer to the UN for the U.S. section of the **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,** told a Woman's Club meeting that the choice now is between "international cooperation" or an "atomic incinerator." In Puerto Rico a delegation of mothers and wives of members of the Puerto Rican 65th Regiment in Korea called upon Gov. Munoz Marin to bring them home. All over the U.S. letters were turning up in newspapers from mothers of soldiers in Korea urging an end to the war.

MERCHANTS: In Kansas City a local chain of stores inserted a full-page ad in the Kansas City **Times.** Surrounded by announcements of bargains in slab bacon, hand lotions, margarine and canned corn was this boxed appeal:

> **"We Must Find A Way to Make Peace With China! Mothers—we ask you this question—which is more important? Saving face after our mistakes in foreign affairs or saving the lives of a million Americans sons? It's later than you think—write your Congressman now!"**

This year the usual sermons on peace in the churches took on a new and deeper significance.

RELIGION

Truth on China embarrasses Baptists

IN its 1950 New Year's issue the GUARDIAN published a long poem by a pro-Communist Chinese, Mei Ch'ing, translated by two U.S. missionaries in China. It was called **Jesus.** "I wanted to write a poem about Jesus," wrote Mei Ch'ing, "because he understood what the Chinese people are fighting for."

On Nov. 29, 1950, accompanying a report by Mme. Sun Yat-sen on the new Chinese regime's first year of rebuilding for the people, the GUARDIAN published this testimony by a U.S. Baptist missionary who has been in China since 1921:

> **"I absolutely believe this to be the most comprehensive renaissance the human spirit has ever experienced and the most dynamic change in human history."**

The missionary who wrote this and helped translate the poem was Dr. Dryden L. Phelps, a nephew of the late William Lyon Phelps of Yale University.

COULD IT BE TRUE? Last week the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society announced the recall of Dr. Phelps to "explain" his position on China which is "not in accord with policies laid down."

"A grand person," said ABFMS home secretary Dr. Jesse R. Wilson of Dr. Phelps, but "unpredictable." Baptist mission leader Dr. William B. Lipphard suggested that Dr. Phelps might be "playing for time" in an effort to "solidify himself" with the Communists.

Admiral sees red; (it was orange)

ADMIRAL William H. Standley, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, in a holiday statement expressed horror that the stars of Bethlehem atop Chamber of Commerce Christmas trees in San Diego should be red.

Chamber spokesmen denied the charge. One said:

> **"We checked the stars. They are orange. They were painted orange with orange paint that came out of a can marked 'orange.'"**

The Admiral insisted: "They look red in the daytime."

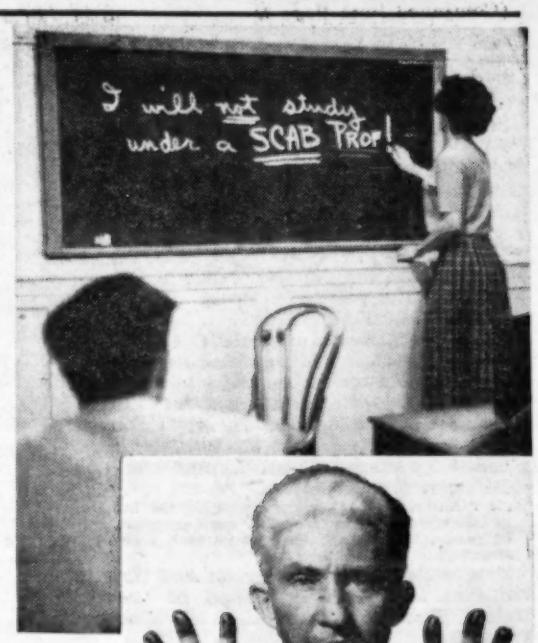
He attracted notice last spring by objecting to a plaque honoring the "four freedoms" on the grounds that freedom from want is communistic.

The 'loyalty' revolt at San Francisco State

"I am not, never was and never will be . . ."

Californians, more than any other U. S. citizens at the moment, are being hounded by the loyalty oath. More than any others, they are fighting back. Well over 1,000 state employes have spurned the demand for conformity contained in the loyalty oath requirement of the state's recently adopted Levering Act; more than a score of organizations have formed a federation to fight for the law's repeal.

Among the most active campaigners for repeal are a group of non-signing faculty members at San Francisco State College and a large section of the student body. The accompanying pictures show how they went into action.



(Above, right) **An S.F. State College student reveals her opinion of a professor who took the job of one who refused the oath.** (Right) **Dr. John Beecher, sociology professor, a non-signer, reveals his opinion of the law's fingerprint requirement.**

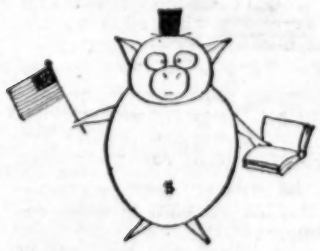
Discharged instructors at S.F. State College hold a "last class" in the streets. Students cut their own classes to attend. Phiz Mezey, fired journalism instructor speaking from the truck, quoted a great editor: "By your failure to use your freedom you will have slain it; with freedom of speech dies liberty of conscience . . . and another civilization will have gone to its grave."

A meeting of the executive committee of the Students Committee for Academic Freedom at S.F. State College. Denied campus facilities, they had to rent a nearby basement to serve as headquarters in their fight against the loyalty oath.

ECONOMY

Profit controls bank on 'faith, hope, cheek'

PRICE Regulation No. 1 of the Economic Stabilization Agency went into effect Dec. 20, but it was scarcely a regulation and there was no visible effect. It was little more than an appeal; compliance was voluntary.



It said companies making as much profit as, or more than, the record-high 1946-1949 average ought not to raise prices beyond the Dec. 1, 1950, level. But prices on goods and services now failing to make a profit could be raised, even though the companies producing them might be pocketing vast profits on other items. (Businesses habitually make "loss leaders," items sold at a loss to attract sales of more profitable products.) Profit margins were to be held to June levels.

Even if businessmen wanted to comply, none knew how or as of what date profits were to be measured. There were plenty of places in the ledger to hide profits, but there seemed no reason to hide since there was no law to break, no policeman to catch the transgressor, no penalty if he were caught.

The **Wall St. Journal** said the stabilizers were banking on

> **. . . faith, hope and cheek . . . like a small boy in a new neighborhood . . . hoping nobody calls their bluff.**

SURRENDER TERMS: The Stabilizers chalked up a small victory when General Motors rescinded its most recent price rise and contented itself with the inflated prices of Dec. 1. For four days after the government requested it to cancel the price increase, GM had held up sales of Pontiacs, Chevrolets and Cadillacs. ESA froze wages for 1,000,000 auto workers until Mar. 1. (Under the escalator clauses the next wage rise is not due till Mar. 1 anyway.)

The government hoped that some businessmen might comply similarly with ceilings they were contemplating in oil, meat and scrap steel. These, too, were to be imposed "by voluntary or other means."

While prices still rose, a drastic and enforced wage-freeze seemed imminent. In the emergency, labor leaders in the United Labor Policy Committee (representing AFL, CIO and some independents but not the United Mine Workers or the leftwing) laid down conditions under which it would surrender. These included enforceable price controls on all items including food, correction of wage inequities, modest cost-of-living increases before the freeze, a greater labor voice in mobilization planning.

WAR PATTERN: The pattern set by the CIO United Auto Workers—long-term contracts with wages tied far behind the cost of living—was applied to the railroad men. Union leaders conferring at the White House with government officials and rail executives tentatively agreed to a 3-year contract with a 23c-an-hour raise for yardmen, less to others, plus a cost-of-living increase of 1c an hour for every rise or fall of one point on the consumer index.

These were approximately the same terms rejected by the men long before they struck. They had asked for a 40-hour week at the same pay received for 48 hours. It would have meant a 31c-an-hour increase.

Don't be an "armchair progressive." Get subs — Send $$ to the Guardian.

LABOR

'Xmas with grenades' sparks varied views

THE bitter "national emergency" Christmas of 1950 brought war-whoops mainly from the officially favored labor leaders who had once been "left." Conservatives hesitated disconsolately between peace and war. Progressives took a fighting message from the holiday season.

The **Machinists Monthly Journal**, organ of the conservative Intl. Assn. of Machinists (independent but now considering a return to the AFL), saw grenades in the holly (picture, p. 6). The IAM paper said:

> **Peoples do not declare war. Wars are declared in the name of the people and the people must fight them when they are declared but people are maneuvered into war.**

The world was choosing up sides for Armageddon, IAM said, with democracy opposing a regimented way of life. It added gropingly:

> **War can only determine which side can**

(Continued on Page 6)

(Continued from Page 5)

kill more and destroy more in the shortest length of time. . . The die is cast and we are committed to such a program. All of us must be ready to do our share. That is why "Merry Christmas" is a meaningless phrase this year. . . . God grant us the will and wisdom to do the right thing.

MERRY MOBILIZATION: No doubts troubled the Natl. Maritime Union (CIO). Page one of the NMU's Pilot carried this headline: NMU TELLS GOVERNMENT: MOBILIZE SHIPS NOW. And in ornamental italics at the bottom of the page: "A Merry Christmas to the Membership."

Ford Facts, organ of the CIO United Auto Workers Local 600, carried on page one a call to a mass meeting to discuss imminent lay-offs as a result of the turn to war production. On an inside page Local President Carl Stellato pleaded for more war production, considering it shameful that

. . . America's politicians campaigned for public office and were elected on a program of peace, lulling all Americans into false security.

Progressive labor took for its text the editorial in **UE News,** organ of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers:

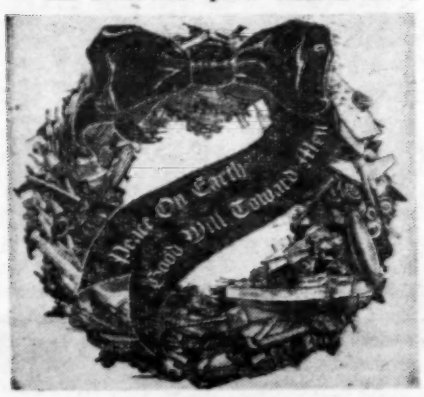
As we celebrate Christmas let us dedicate ourselves to staying the hands of war. The people have the power to make the dream of Peace on Earth a reality; they have only to find the way of using it.

LEAVE IT TO THE BOYS: Harry Bridges, president of the Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, wrote:

The President's speech sounded like a declaration of war against most of the world, a war which the U. S. A. would apparently have to fight and finance virtually alone. It certainly constituted a declaration of war against the living standards and basic rights of the working people who will be impoverished if the program is given full force and effect.

His suggestion for a Christmas gift:

If the situation is so critical that the drastic controls ordered by President Truman are needed, why not put the decision directly up to the American people through a referendum vote, including especially the boys now fighting in Korea?



Machinists Monthly Journal

Words—and deeds

FARM

FU leaders get as wild as Harry

AMONG the three to four thousand farmers gathered in St. Paul for the annual convention of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Assn. (GTA), many scratched their heads wondering whither the leaders of the traditionally militant Natl. Farmers Union were heading. A GUARDIAN correspondent wrote from Minnesota:

By comparing the news stories of the Farmers Union GTA convention with the Farm Bureau (which reflects big business interests) convention in Texas at the same time, many progressive farmers began to ask if the two organizations weren't really competing as to which can best mobolize farmer support of Truman's war program.

The fact that the various state NFU educational divisions have all passed fairly strong pro-peace resolutions this fall did not seem to register with GTA manager M. W. Thatcher and his board of directors. The convention speakers' list was heavy with Washington bureaucrats, all of whom talked of "mobilizing farmers" for the emergency. One speaker even discussed atom-bomb-proof grain storage. The resolutions passed by the stockholders sounded like they had been written by senators McCarthy (R-Wisc.) or Bridges (R-N.H.).

HANG OUT MORE CRAPE: NFU president James Patton said glumly:

"I am sure that we will have a garrison state for some time to come. I do not see in my lifetime a situation in which we will have a settled peace."

A major resolution pledged resistance to "an aggressive and imperialistic world communism." From Glenn Talbot, North Dakota FU educational division president, came an interlude of horse-sense. Criticizing the government for its alignment with world reaction, he demanded a new policy. His speech won the strongest applause.

Fred Wright

"Be careful what you say . . . the boss sent him over. . . ."

CHICAGO

Mayor denounced in firetrap horror

ON Dec. 9 fire swept a tenement at 134 East 31st St., in Chicago's overcrowded South Side. Eight persons were burned to death. The building, constructed to accommodate 104 people, housed more than 300. All were Negroes.

It was the latest in a series of fires ravaging the Negro sections of the city where firetraps flourish. Eleven Chicagoans have died in fires in the last two months.

The recurrent disasters have stirred the city, revealing a housing scandal that may well unseat Mayor Kennelly's administration in the spring municipal elections.

SNEAK CONVERSIONS: Since 1940 Chicago has grown by 200,000 families. Only 121,000 dwelling units have been added; of these, more than half were made by chopping the old tenements into tiny one- and two-room apartments, leaving them darker, more dismal, more crowded, more dangerous. Buildings constructed before 1900 now hold 40,000 more apartments than they did ten years ago. The Chicago Housing Authority in a report this month called them "dangerous, sneak conversions." Many are obvious violations of the city code, but in 21 years not one landlord has been fined for a violation in converting apartments.

More than half of the city's housing need, estimated at 292,000 units, is among the non-white population which has doubled since 1940. Housing development under Kennelly is typified by the N.Y. Life Insurance Co. "dehousing" project which will house 1,400 families, displace more than 3,000.

FIRETRAP POLITICS: The Progressive Party of Illinois, warning after the 31st St. fire that these would not be "the last deaths by cremation" urged: immediate recheck of firetraps; 24-hour ultimatum to landlords to correct violations or else have the city make repairs and charge costs to the landlords; city to find emergency space for tenants now in unfit housing; dismissal of Roy E. Christiansen, head of the Building Dept.; adequate housing program on vacant land to go with slum clearance. The PP placed blame for the firetraps "squarely on Mayor Kennelly and the City Council majority" who have "played cheap hack politics with housing."

The recently-formed Emergency Committee to End Firetraps sent a delegation of 60 to the Mayor. Its secretary, Mrs. Naomi Komorowski, said the 60 got "one big brushoff."

PAGE BUTCH: Four Protestant clergymen—Revs. Julian J. Keiser (Warren Av. Congregational Church), William T. Baird (Essex Community Church), Armand Guerrero (Mayfair Methodist Church), Richard H. Davis (Indiana Av. Disciples of Christ Church) in a letter to 100 ministers and rabbis wrote:

. . . The time has come when either the major political parties must produce a mayoral candidate such as we have not seen here in Chicago, or a strong independent movement must be built for a good government candidate of La Guardia caliber.

The clergymen blamed "at least half" the tenement fire deaths on the mayor's "do-nothing policy"; denounced his record on "the race question" as poorer than Mayor Kelly's—and on crime:

Either the mayor refuses to recognize the seriousness of our city's place as the crime nerve-center of America or he is impotent to deal with it. . . . The evident prosperity of a large number of police captains seems to disturb him not at all. We regret that he has become an ideal protector of the criminal element by his very inaction.

FIZZLE AT THE UN

What the Assembly didn't do

Guardian UN correspondent

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y.

AS the UN's Fifth General Assembly ended with a fizzle three months after opening with a bang, it was easier to enumerate what it didn't do than what it did; and what it did, it should not have done.

- It accepted the Acheson resolution (ironically called "Uniting for Peace") to by-pass the Security Council on security matters including military sanctions—which the Charter clearly forbids.
- It re-elected Secy.-Gen. Trygve Lie for three years. (The Charter says permanent Security Council members must approve; one of them—Russia—didn't).
- It tacitly authorized MacArthur to cross the 38th Parallel in Korea, despite Indian warnings that the Chinese would thereby be brought into the fight. (They were).

ATOM CONTROL & DISARMAMENT: President Truman's statement in his UN Day speech that control of atomic and "conventional" armaments are linked was hailed as a great discovery. It was precisely the position taken by the Russians for two years, U.S. opposition to which has prevented any move to stop the rearming trend. Yet the only result was creation of one more committee to "study" methods of co-ordinating the Atomic and Conventional Arms committees' work and "report next year."

Soviet proposals for atom control and outlawing the bomb were rejected. No one paid any attention to Vishinsky's important Dec. 12 speech listing the Morgan, DuPont, Mellon and Rockefeller monopoly spokesmen—all concerned to block use of atomic energy for peace—who helped frame the atomic policy imposed on UN by the U.S.

Daily Worker, London

"Please, teacher, when China crosses the 38th Parellel, will she be guilty of Non-Aggressive Police Action like the Yanks?"

BRICKBATS & BOUQUETS: Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, countries building socialism and proscribing all race prejudice, were condemned for violating human rights. India's old complaint against the violent racist persecutions in South Africa was dismissed with advice to hold a round-table conference and report in April, 1951. A Greek delegate deplored condemnation of South Africa "whose boys are fighting in Korea." Restrictions against fascist Spain, imposed in 1946, were lifted.

The Assembly which intervened so energetically in Korea took no action to carry out last year's resolution to internationalize Jerusalem, which Jordan and Israel refused to accept.

FAR EAST: Where the world expected a statesmanlike performance and admission of China so it could talk and be talked to as an equal, Far East problems were left in the air and the Assembly recessed instead of adjourning till next year.

The work will drag on and peter out. Without discussing Formosa it is meaningless; but with the possibility of having to withdraw altogether from Korea the U.S. wants to consolidate its hold on Formosa, and therefore will do everything to avoid discussing Formosa in the open. This explains the U.S. refusal to admit China to UN or to negotiate on Far East issues as a whole.

L-O-V-E: To all this a constructive note was added last week by a report from Hollywood that, as a result of UN's public relations work there, a film is in preparation on a "fictional UNESCO expedition into the Himalayas." As one jaded UN official remarked, taking comfort from the fact that his ample tax-free salary supplies him with enough alcohol to rout acute after-hours melancholia:

"As long as fictional UNESCO blondes teach fictional Himalayans how to spell L-O-V-E, we must not abandon hope."

EDUCATION

Fake 'defense' drills appal educators

AT a teacher's signal public school children in Albany, N.Y., pull down classroom shades and crawl under their desks. After an interval for an imaginary atomic blast, they are led into the corridors where they lie on the floor against the walls.

In Los Angeles children are being trained to respond to a signal by kneeling beside their seats, burying heads in hands. In Portland, Ore., they go down on their knees, press their faces to the floor. In Seattle, where a similar program was instituted, Superintendent Samuel E. Fleming said:

"We are making every effort not to disturb the children emotionally—especially the little tots."

Directives from the New York State Educational Dept. are that atomic bomb drills should be made "part of dramatic play," a "fairly natural, everyday experience . . . as we have learned to brush our teeth." Some teachers refer to the exercise as "playing Indians." Younger children are urged to smile.

CLICK THOSE HEELS: In the Central Needle Trades High School of N.Y. City, teachers have been advised that at all times "a military discipline should prevail."

After a daily swearing of allegiance, comes physical inspection to be "done with military precision with the class at attention." Then come "Orders of the Day." At the end of the homeroom period a Bible reading is marked "optional." Class officers, elected or appointed, are to be newly designated "captain, lieutenant, sergeant."

A memo to the Health Education teacher directs:

In the gymnasium the Marine Handbook will supplement the course of study. Formal drills and military exercises will take the place of the informal game period.

CARE AND BREEDING OF CHILDREN IN PORTLAND, ORE.
Second graders huddle on basement floor during a "defense" drill.

THE SUNDAY BOMB: Many educators are appalled; they disagree about what is to be done. Dr. Howard A. Lane of the N.Y. University School of Education deplored the effects of shelter drills, the constant presentation of a future of violence and war in the present "crisis culture." He thought atomic bomb drills were necessary, but

". . . there is evidence that youngsters today are often being frightened unnecessarily. It is possible to take precautions without creating a mental atmosphere of fear."

He advised "talking out" the children's fears. That seemed difficult i cases like the one described at a recen Brooklyn meeting of the Parents Committee to Safeguard Children From Wa Tensions in the Schools. (Mary Jan Melish, wife of Rev. William Howar Melish, is chairman). A parent told o one child who as a result of school drill and a television program became convinced that an A-bomb would b dropped on a specific Sunday. Th teacher tried to reassure him, tellin him it would not fall that Sunday bu "if it does, this is what you do. . . ."

TRUTH MIGHT HELP: Pediatrician Dr. Leo Jenkins at the committee's conference warned that children could no be fooled into thinking shelter drill were games; attempts to fool them were dangerous. He charged that "defense" preparations were fraudulent, that in the event of an atomic attack it would be impossible to provide adequate shelters or even furnish enough supplies t care for the injured. It would cost $40,000,000 just to give every New Yorke a tetanus immunization, and

". . . It is obvious they won't spend tha kind of money. But they can frighten kid —that doesn't cost much."

One parent at the conference mad this suggestion:

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Item	Description & Colors	Size in Inches	Reg. Value	Guardian Price
FROM RUSSIA:				
1	White with blue border	60x60	$ 6.50	$ 4.50
2a	White with colored border*	56x68	7.50	4.90
2b	White with colored border*	56x83	8.50	5.50
2c	White with colored border*	54x54	5.50	3.50
3	White flowers on white	56x68	7.50	4.90
	IN FLORAL COLORS:			
4a	Peach, rose, blue	56x56	7.50	5.00
4b	Gold, lavender,	56x68	9.50	6.00
4c	Rose, purple, pink, blue or gold	69x83	13.50	9.00
4d	Green, gold, blue	56x83	12.50	8.00
	White with Blue Border			
5a	(with 6 napkins)	60x60	11.50	6.50
5b	(with 8 napkins)	60x83	17.50	10.50
5c	White on white with 6 napkins	69x83	20.00	15.00
	*Colored borders in lovely shades of rose, pink, gold, blue, purple. (In specifying colors or colored border, give 2 or 3 preferences)			
FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA:				
6	Pure linen double damask Hemstitched, 8 matching hemstitched napkins. Cream color.	56x84	20.00	14.50
7	Pure linen. Open work design. 8 matching napkins. Blue, gold, green	58x78	20.00	13.00
8	Pure linen. White double damask Hemstitched, 12 matching napkins. Floral design	60x100	23.00	18.00
9	White double damask. Hemstitched. 12 matching napkins	70x108	30.00	20.00
9a	Pure linen damask. Floral design. 12 extra large napkins. Blue, green, white	64x104	30.00	20.00
FROM BELGIUM:				
10	Rayon damask. Floral design. 8 matching napkins. Grey, cream, blue, green	64x84	18.00	14.00
FROM IRELAND:				
11	Pure linen white damask. 8 matching napkins	66x84	25.00	19.50
PILLOWCASES:				
12	Before hemming. Pure Irish linen. Threads drawn by hand	42x38		5.50 a pair
13	Domestic percale. No starch. Thread drawn hems	42x36		9.90 a doz.
TOWELS:				
14	Pure linen Kitchen Towel	18x34		7.50 per doz.
14a	Pure linen Kitchen Towel	16x32		6.75 per doz.
14b	Face Towels, Pure linen. Floral design	20x36		9.50 per doz.

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MARCANTONIO LOOKS AHEAD

'Best defense of America lies in a policy of peace'

The following speech, excerpted from the Congressional Record, is perhaps the last major speech made by Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N. Y.) in the present Congress.

By Vito Marcantonio

I RISE in opposition to the proposed appropriation for armaments.

Armaments per se have always meant nothing; armaments are merely the implementation of a policy. Armaments implementing a policy of genuine defense of a people's interest is one thing; armaments implementations in pursuance of a genuine defense policy is always in the interest of the Nation, but these armaments implement an insane war program which has never been in the interest of the Nation

and it is today definitely not in the best interest of the people of the United States.

This insane war policy culminated last June in our Operation Desperation in Korea. I do not believe I am subjecting myself to an accusation of immodesty when I now say beyond challenge that I stood up here as the only Member of this House in opposition to our intervention in civil war in Korea. I did so on the very day on which the President announced our disastrous adventure in Korea. I said then, on June 27, after the majority leader had read the statement that the President had issued:

> "Mr. Chairman, we have heard words read here by our distinguished majority leader which I think will mark a disastrous course, and the words I am using do not adequately describe the disastrous consequences this course will have on the people of the United States unless checked by the people themselves."

THE TRAGIC ROAD: That was said on June 27. Events since June 27, I maintain, have vindicated the position I took at that time. There are very few people in America today who do not wish we had never gone in Korea. I said also at that time that the Chinese people would fight; and I explained that our action there was not in the defense of a single American interest in Korea, but that we were fighting against the national aspirations of the people of China, Korea, Viet-Nam, and other peoples in Asia for national liberation and self-determination.

The only alternative that is offered to the people of the world and the only alternative that is offered to the people of the country as a result of this insane war policy which you are implementing with this appropriation is world conflict and use of the atom bomb.

I stated also on June 27:

> "Remember one thing: A bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. It had terrible consequences, but it did not frighten the people of China and it did not frighten the people of Korea and the people of Asia."

So the threat of the use of the atomic bomb has only alienated decent-minded people away from us. Events show that that threat has not frightened the people of China.

NEGOTIATE AS EQUALS: The best defense of these United States is a policy of peace.

I say that our problems can be resolved without the sacrifice of a single interest of the American people; they can be resolved by a policy of courageously carrying out two steps —cease fire on both sides and at the same time honest negotiations for an honest conclusion for peace. But you cannot enter into those honest negotiations unless you recognize the right of the Chinese people to self-determination and the right of the people of China to national unity. We must accept the people of Asia and China as equals.

You cannot enter into any honest negotiations for peace as long as you want to hang on to a corrupt dictator like Chiang Kai-shek and insist on establishing false, unjustified, and pretended defense lines for America in Formosa or in other parts of Asia.

The best defense of America does not lie in this armaments race implementing this insane program of war. Such a race will lead only to a war which at best no one will win, but which will destroy civilization as we know it. The best defense of America does not lie in the atom bomb. It can be thrown in both directions and destroy us, too. The best defense of America lies in a policy of peace and today specifically the best defense of America is peace with China.

Interview with Wu

The men of Peking as they really are

By James Imbrie

(Progressive Party candidate in 1948 for governor of New Jersey)

LAWRENCEVILLE, N. J.

ON Dec. 17 a few Progressive Party leaders had tea with Ambassador Wu and other delegates from the Peoples' Republic of China, in the envoy's hotel in New York.

The public has been given the impression that these delegates were arrogant in attitude, shrill in expression of their views;

JAMES IMBRIE
There are two sides . . .

robots manipulated by Moscow; representatives of brutal aggressors demanding everything, giving nothing.

NO ARROGANCE: As one who recognized this press and radio propaganda line as part of the total unreality of present U.S. foreign policy, I found it good to have the opportunity to see and talk to these people. These are the impressions they left:

- I found them gentle, soft-spoken, friendly, frank and sincere.
- Their youth was startling, considering the gravity of their mission; but their enthusiasm, intelligence and confidence might well offset a lot of experience at conferences.
- I felt that Ambassador Wu answered all questions without hesitation and without guile. These questions covered religious freedom in China, treatment of missions and missionaries, and many other subjects, including Korea, Formosa and the UN. I found convincing his flat statement that his government would continue to guarantee religious freedom in China, and that it valued the Christian missionaries who had done so much in the past for the Chinese people.

YOUNG, PROUD, & PEACEFUL: What of Peace? I came away with the strong impression that these people truly and deeply want Peace. Yes, I am aware that masses of Chinese troops are fighting our forces in Korea, aware that we and they are suffering tragic casualties. But I am also aware that this young and proud Peoples' Republic of China honestly believes the U.S. has violated Chinese sovereignty on two crucial counts:

> 1. That we supported their No. 1 Enemy, Chiang, to the tune of 5 billion dollars; and after he was driven from the mainland to take refuge in Formosa we continued to recognize his exiled government, and prevented the UN from recognizing the new Peoples' Republic and seating its representatives in the Security Council. This meant that 450,000,000 Chinese people, or nearly a quarter of the world population, were unrepresented in the Parliament of Nations at a time when decisions vitally affecting their interests were being made.
> 2. That when President Truman ordered our 7th Fleet to "patrol and protect" the island of Formosa last June, it was an act of aggressive international intervention because Formosa was Chinese Territory by right of the Cairo and Yalta Agreements, to which our Government was a signatory, and because the Japanese surrender terms signed, sealed and delivered Formosa to China in 1945.

A MATTER OF GEOGRAPHY: Continued recognition and support by us of the discredited, exiled and beaten Chiang regime would seem untenable on the record.

In Venezuela in 1947 Romulo Gallegos was elected President by a 75% vote under a democratic constitution. This democratic government was overthrown by force and violence in 1948, free institutions were suppressed, and a dictatorship inaugurated. The U.S. promptly recognized this dictatorship and helped to have its representatives seated in the UN.

It therefore seems absurd for us to refuse recognition to the Peoples' Republic of China; and ironic that its delegation should arrive to find UN flags at half-mast for a murdered member of the military triumvirate fo the duly-recognized Venezuelan dictatorship.

MILLIONS FEEL THIS: I left the conference sad at heart because I felt there were two sides to the questions at issue between my government and that of the Peoples' Republic of China; that World Peace hung in the balance; and that my government had refused to attempt to find the answers through negotiation.

As Progressive Party Secy. C. B. Baldwin wrote to Ambassador Wu before his departure:

> We will continue to work for the day when you will take your rightful place in the UN and our government accords you the full recognition you so richly deserve. We want you to know that millions of our citizens share our feelings.

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BREAKFAST AT 113 WEST ELM—After your New Year's celebration. Waffles served from midnight until ? ? January 1, 1951. Auspices: 42nd Ward Progressive Party.

Boston

PEACE ON EARTH NOW. Report from New England delegates on 2nd World Peace Congress, the peoples of Warsaw and the U.S.S.R. Mrs. Helen Johnson, chairman. Boston Minute Women For Peace; Mrs. Laura Leak, Negro leader church and community member from Worcester; Rev. Warren H. McKenna, Boston; Rev. Robert W. Muir, Boston; Mrs. Irma Otto, rural peace leader, New Hampshire. Thursday, Jan. 4, 1951, 8 p.m. Adm. 35c. Boston Conservatory Auditorium, 31 Hemenway St., Boston (near Mass. Station).